U. N. CRISIS: SHAPE OF A TABLE—MARK GAYN

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THE Nation

August 29, 1953
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Behind the French Strikes

by Stuart R. Schram and J. A. del Vayo

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Indonesia: 8th Anniversary *Herbert Feith*

The Knave of Clubs *Frederick L. Schuman*
Reviewing Papen's Memoirs and Hitler's Talk

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Around the U.S.A.

Neat Trick on Northwest Labor

Everett, Wash.

IN A curious decision handed down late in May the National Labor Relations Board opened a wide avenue of tax relief and union-busting to the Pacific Northwest's woodworking industry. The board virtually put its stamp of approval on the practice of reorganizing mills—plywood plants, so far—as pseudo-cooperatives. With workers turned into shareholders, the companies benefit from a revised tax structure and have in some instances been able to kill or severely cripple established labor organizations.

In a precedent-setting case the N. L. R. B. has ruled that an "independent" union of worker-shareholders in Everett, Washington, may compete with the A. F. of L. Lumber and Sawmill Workers for designation as the employees' bargaining agency. Since most workers drop their A. F. of L. affiliation when they become small capitalists, the outcome of the vote seems a foregone conclusion.

In the meantime hundreds of members of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers have found themselves squeezed out of their jobs, with little possibility of regaining them. The impending election will probably shut the gates for good. Former employees will then have plenty of time to consider the complexities of the maneuver.

The N. L. R. B. decision is an important one in the Northwest, for the region's cooperative and semi-cooperative plywood companies already produce more than 15 per cent of the total United States output. Private corporations, faced with another possible market slump, may now decide to relieve themselves of certain vexing burdens by following Everett's lead. One of these burdens is the excess-profits tax, which has been continued by the Republicans for at least the rest of this year. Just as private corporations avoid part of their penalty by paying high salaries to management, "cooperatives" sometimes pay fancy wages in lieu of fancy dividends—and avoid all excess-profits taxation. Federal income-tax provisions and broad emergency wage regulations have been the only limits. Incidentally, one of the techniques sometimes used to cheat all concerned in the transfer of plywood plants to cooperative status is to draw up intricate tie-in contracts for supplying peeler logs—often in exchange for added capital investment—to certain dovetailed sales agencies.

• Another of the industry's problems is "labor trouble." This is how the Everett plant handled it. Two years ago Local 2781 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union had an uneasy contract with the Robinson Plywood and Timber Company, which employed 700 hands in its obsolescent water-front mill. Suddenly union officers found they were dealing with new faces and a new name—the Everett Plywood and Door Company. There had been a sale, it was said.

Almost immediately pickets were at the gates. A vicious legal battle was begun in court and the N. L. R. B.'s offices. The company testified that a cooperative had been organized with 524 shares of stock at $3,500 each and that some shareholders had been guaranteed jobs. The union maintained that 350 of its members had been shoved aside to make room for the share-owners, and that its contract with the Robinson interests had been illegally abrogated. The "sale," it charged, was not a sale at all.

Picketing continued, and bitterness mounted in the old mill city. About 150 of the local's members were now "owners," and nearly all of them ignored the picket line. Finally the union's Northwest Council decided in a Portland convention that here was a good test case and voted to support the Everett strike. It was the first move of organized labor against the area's cooperatives; here the issue would be decided, once and for all. The Northwest Council also went on record as formally opposed to other types of cooperatives. "Stock-selling schemes," it called them, or "fronts" to allow private companies to escape union contracts.

• In fairness to a sizable bloc of the industry it must be stated that several of the larger plants are genuine cooperatives—owned entirely by the workers. The threat to labor peace and justice is that a greater number are masquerading. The present position of the N. L. R. B.—that even when the majority of the employees (most of them recently hired) own shares, their new "union" is entitled to be the sole bargaining agent—has breath-taking implications. Already there are enough cooperatives and phony co-ops in existence to make it probable that a market decline would precipitate widespread "voluntary" wage-cutting. Thus put in an unfavorable competitive position, the private companies would be under pressure to attack the L. S. W. U. wage structure, tediously built over the years. And the same pattern of attack might easily jump to other sections of the lumber industry—and, conceivably, to other industries in other parts of the United States.

The Lumber and Sawmill Workers can perhaps be forgiven for feeling themselves victims of a neat trick.

JAMES HAMILTON, JR.

[James Hamilton, Jr., is a free-lance writer.]

Another *Nation* Best-Seller

See Back Cover

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

No Time Limit on Peace

The non-Communist nations selected as participants in the Korean conference, if they are to enter that conference with honesty of purpose, must do so prepared not only for prolonged negotiating but also for the possibility that they will have to choose between indefinite stalemate and renewal of the fighting. They must not only refuse to set a time limit to the negotiations or, above all, to the armistice; they must make it clear that whatever the American reading of the sixteen-nation declaration, it cannot bind them to renew the war on the basis of any unilateral action by Syngman Rhee or—in the case of a Communist breach of the truce—to push the war beyond the Yalu. And they should do this in the clear recognition that peaceful unification is the proper aim of the United Nations, that unification by non-peaceful means, even if it could be achieved, would be impermanent and valueless, and that a prolonged armistice even without a settlement is infinitely more desirable than resumption of the war.

Bypassing U. N. K. R. A.?

If the economic and social reconstruction of Korea were to be made a first order of business at the conference it might facilitate eventual agreement on larger issues. This country has now promised two hundred million dollars as a first instalment for the reconstruction of South Korea, while the Soviet Union has pledged one thousand million rubles for reconstruction in the North. If both funds were to be pooled, along with any supplemental appropriations, under the administration of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, the reconstruction of Korea might become a first step toward its ultimate unification. But according to Syngman Rhee, who is becoming a more or less official spokesman for American policy, the funds which we have promised will be administered not by U. N. K. R. A. but by the tripartite Combined Economic Board, which includes an American (Admiral Hanlon) representing the U. N. command, the South Korean Minister of Finance, and a representative of U. N. K. R. A. It is hard to believe that it is our policy to let Rhee carry out the reconstruction program since U. N. K. R. A. was set up at our insistence, seconded by the Australians, for the precise purpose of undertaking the task of post-war reconstruction. But it may well be that part of the price which Mr. Dulles had to pay for Rhee's acquiescence in a truce was the juicy privilege of acting, so to speak, as prime contractor for Korean reconstruction.

Morocco: A Costly Coup

Taking advantage of the domestic crisis in France, French colonials in Morocco have forced the removal of the Sultan, but the price may be higher than they think. In pursuit of their favorite tactic of playing off the reactionary Berber chieftains and their rural following against the Sultan and the urban Arabs who constitute the main strength of the Istiqlal, the French have produced a Frankenstein monster in the ancient Pasha of Marrakesh, who from this distance conveys the impression of being another Syngman Rhee destined to cause the French no end of trouble. The manner of the Sultan's removal—carried off in the high-handed style of late-nineteenth-century imperialism at its worst—has offended world opinion and placed the French on the defensive. The Arab-Asian nations promptly raised the issue at the United Nations and may yet force a hearing despite the insistence of the French that Morocco is a purely domestic problem and their threat to walk out of any U. N. debate on the subject. But Morocco is not a colony; it is a protectorate, and the French will have a hard time to sustain their position. In the long run France cannot hope to stem the tide of nationalism in Morocco by appealing to the Berber tribesmen to police the Arabs of the cities. In forcing the removal of the Sultan the French colonials have further weakened their position.

Wheat Growers Referendum

By voting for acreage and marketing allotments, the wheat farmers have assured themselves government support at 90 per cent of parity for another year and saved the Administration from the probable embarrassment of a drastic fall in wheat prices before the mid-term elections. But the vote does nothing to solve the problem of the wheat surplus: at best it postpones it; at worst it aggravates it.

On July 1 the estimated supply of wheat for 1953-54

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was 1,717,000,000 bushels, 48 per cent above "normal" and a record figure. Since the law calls for restriction of acreage when the supply in sight exceeds 20 per cent of "normal," Secretary of Agriculture Benson was forced to order the wheat growers' referendum, although he has not disguised his opposition to crop controls. Rather than see support prices drop to 50 per cent of parity—the alternative—the growers backed acreage allotments by far more than the required two-thirds' majority.

The cutback will not be excessively severe—from 78,000,000 to 62,000,000 acres—thanks to Congressional action in July amending a law which would have set the total at 55,000,000 acres. Nor, given average weather conditions, will there be anything like a commensurate fall in output. Farmers, naturally, will cut back on their marginal land and in many cases will intensify cultivation of the rest. They will have every inducement to do so, since as long as they keep within their allotted acres they will be free to market every bushel they grow. Thus the carry-over next July 1 may be little if any smaller than this year's, particularly as large surpluses in all other major producing countries point to a further shrinkage of exports. In that case a much more drastic cut in acreage for the 1955 harvest will be necessary unless Congress plucks up courage to order flexible price supports.

Indonesia: Back Door to Southeast Asia

The *Economist* reminds us that Indonesia, which has been out of the news lately, may yet "come back into the headlines for the wrong reasons." For the first time since the transfer of power by the Dutch the government contains no Moslem representatives from the powerful Masjumi Party. Tension between Communist and Moslem groups has been spreading, and last week Vice-President Hatta called for a united Islamic front against "irreligious ideologies" at a mass-meeting of fifteen thousand Moslems in Jakarta. Indonesia is the vital back door to Southeast Asia. What happens there is certain to have a profound effect in that vast region of which Indonesia is the biggest state. Current developments there lend special importance to Herbert Feith's article on page 170 of this issue.

Chivvying the Consumer

The volume of outstanding consumer instalment indebtedness in this country has reached an all-time high; and on top of this business is pushing a campaign to persuade our population to "live one-third better." How much of the pyramiding costs of this spic-and-span merchandising age should the consumer be lured into carrying as his personal risk? Is the proper way to discover what the consumer can afford to lure and chivvy him

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until he breaks? A minor counter-note of sanity comes from Britain. The Ministry of Health, in charge of the socialized health service, is undertaking a comparison of the cost of some 4,000 branded proprietary drugs with the cost of comparable unbranded "national formulary" compounds. While emphasizing the complexity of the problem, the London *Economist* comments that "any sign that a Conservative government may be willing to use the weapon of publicity to break down the barriers of consumer ignorance—which litter the whole field of retail trade, especially in price-maintained goods—is to be welcomed."

The Cold War in the Courts

Justices Denman, Orr, and Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals have again demonstrated their remarkable immunity to the cold-war hysteria. On the ground that the appeal failed to raise substantial questions of law, Judge John Wiig, who succeeded Judge Delbert Metzger in Hawaii, recently denied bail to the seven defendants in the Smith-act prosecution there and ordered them to start serving the heavy jail sentences he had previously imposed. The three appellate judges found that the appeal raised "very substantial questions of law" and were not impressed by the "cold-war" arguments advanced by the government to sustain Judge Wiig's ruling. During the argument the special assistant assigned by the Attorney General to the case started to read a passage from a book by the late Joseph Stalin, only to be cut short by Justice Healy's comment: "Every informed person has read that book." "But of course," interposed Justice Denman, "it is dangerous to do it. You might be called before a Congressional committee." Although Judge Metzger no longer presides in Honolulu, the three Ninth Circuit judges apparently share his old-fashioned notion that the political arguments of the cold-war are out of place in a court of justice.

Round One for Labor

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

AFTER sixteen days of paralysis the transport, postal, gas, and electricity services are gradually returning to normal as a result of the agreements reached last Friday between the non-Communist unions and the government. But as this is written, the extension of the strike to private enterprises continues. And even after the last worker returns to his job, the impact of what has happened will remain far-reaching and profound. It is too early to calculate the material consequences, but the political and psychological ones can already be listed.

The first politically important fact is the manifestation of the strength of the unions. *Le pouvoir syndical* has affirmed itself in the face of legislative impotence as revealed in the recent prolonged Cabinet crisis and an executive power which has just demonstrated the limitations of any policy of toughness. The strikers simply ignored Laniel's threats.

To understand what has happened, it is necessary to look back. Pinay and his successors were accustomed to deal with financial problems as if the workers would always be ready to acquiesce in low wages and exclusion from the direction of public affairs. The right watched without regret as not only the Communists but also the Socialists left the government. Once both parties were unrepresented in the ministry it was thought that it would be easy to ignore the workers and their demands. There is only one explanation for such lack of foresight: the professional politicians must have assumed that the Socialists and Communists would never again unite but would continue to fight each other to the advantage of reaction.

Refuting these rigid assumptions, the three major federations stayed together for a fortnight in a way that would have been unthinkable a year or even a month ago [see Stuart Schram's article on page 164]. Unlike the situation in the United States, each major party here must listen to its unions in order to maintain its position. Thus the Socialist Party, which at its recent congress in Asnières proved cold to the idea of unity with the Communists, nevertheless supported the Socialist Force Ouvrière's unity with the Communist C. G. T. Indeed, one of the most significant developments during the strike was the firmness with which it was upheld, without restriction, by the Socialist Party's executive committee. Interesting too was the reaction of the Catholic Party, the M. R. P., represented in the Laniel government not only by Bidault but also by its chairman. Despite Laniel's insistence that he would not negotiate with the unions until work had been resumed, the M. R. P. initiated the indirect talks between the unions and the government which were partly responsible for last Friday's agreements. The fact is that the M. R. P. politicians could no longer ignore the stiffening attitude of the Catholic unions (C. F. T. C.) which give them their votes.

Thus the issue is no longer a union issue; it has shifted to the political arena. The very fact that center deputies joined the Socialists and Communists in demanding—and winning—a meeting of the National Assembly constitutes a significant labor victory. Laniel had abundant reasons for trying to avoid such a session. He fears that to the social agitation against him will now be added parliamentary agitation. The classic right blames him for not having shown the same energy against the strikers as Clemenceau did in 1919—but Clemenceau could use the army to break the strike, a feat impossible today. The left, on the other hand, is in a stronger position than it was a

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few weeks ago, when it very nearly succeeded in making Mendès-France premier. And not only the strikes are involved. Deputies who for a long time have been warning of the dangers of France's Moroccan policy will now have something to say. The Moroccan problem is not easy of solution, but the one mistake which should never have been made has already been committed—the removal of the Sultan. Just as the strikes may be settled, so France may also gain a respite in Morocco, but neither problem can be solved by mere postponement.

Will Laniel succeed in saving his ministry? If he is forced to call for elections, the left will have to commit almost inconceivable errors not to be able to capitalize on the present failures of the right. In France as in Italy, those who think that all a government needs is the blessings of Washington must now reckon with the possibility of leftist or popular-front regimes.

What has happened here in the last few weeks will affect not only domestic but foreign policy. It is from the human material that went into the strikes that the European armies of the Atlantic coalition must be forged. Without the cooperation of the workers it would be difficult to carry out the national mobilization that a third world war would require. It is no wonder therefore that dispassionate observers consider the strike the most sensational development in France since the Liberation.

BEHIND THE FRENCH STRIKES

Rank-and-File Unity . . *by Stuart R. Schram*

[*This article should be read in conjunction with J. Alvarez del Vayo's editorial above, in which* The Nation's *foreign editor analyzes the strikes on the basis of later developments.*]

St. Etienne, France

THE representative of the Communist C. G. T. paused a moment before leaving the room. "I have to step out for a few minutes on urgent business," he explained, "but go right on with your discussions. Anything my comrades of the Socialist and the Catholic unions say goes for me too." To those familiar with the atmosphere of the French labor movement, this remark will drive home what is surely the most significant aspect of the present large-scale offensive of French workers to win better living conditions.

Ever since the split in the General Confederation of Labor in 1949 and the formation of the Socialist Force Ouvrière, the two groups have denounced each other daily; the mildest epithets used were "Stalinist terrorists" and "traitors to the working class." No doubt this war between rival defenders of labor's interests was made more or less inevitable by national tensions and differences of principle. The fact remains that it rendered effective action impossible, so that the condition of the French worker is today worse than it was in 1938. Until a few months ago there seemed no possible remedy to this situation. The obvious practical solution—limited cooperation in order to obtain stated economic objectives—was regarded as completely "unrealistic" because of political differences.

Undoubtedly both sides had valid reasons for being wary of joint action. The non-Communists, and especially the Socialists, could well ask themselves whether they would be able to compete with the Communists in a dynamic situation, in view of the Communist superiority in numbers and discipline. It is significant that the Catholics of the C. F. T. C. have repeatedly shown themselves less reluctant than the Socialists to collaborate with the C. G. T. This is obviously because their doctrinal and sociological roots in the church give them a certain assurance that they will be able to maintain their distinctive personality, whereas the Socialists, who still owe at least verbal allegiance to Marxism, are forced to compete with the Communists on the same secular plane.

The worries of the Communists are of another order. Numerically by far the strongest of the three principal federations, they have no fear of being outmaneuvered in the course of a strike. As a frankly revolutionary party, however, their interest is rather to perpetuate an explosive social situation than to cooperate in patching up a capitalism which they consider moribund.

What has caused these groups to close ranks at least temporarily? There is little doubt that the basic reason is the extreme lassitude and disgust which have overtaken the whole of the French working class. For the past five years the situation has been continually deteriorating. The numerous strikes undertaken in the hope of checking the decline of the standard of living have nearly all ended in defeat because one or the other federation left its union on the job. In consequence the individual worker has lost confidence in the ability of his union to defend his interests, and the membership of all three groups has dropped alarmingly since 1947.

Unquestionably Communist and non-Communist unions alike have arrived at the conclusion that the discouragement of the workers and their consequent passivity might well give the right courage and opportunity to undertake all manner of unpleasant adventures. In short, they have grasped the fact that before decid-

STUART R. SCHRAM is an American who has spent the last several years in Europe, part of the time on a Cutting Fellowship from Columbia University.

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ing who is to lead the French working class in the future, it is necessary to insure that it has a future. And for this the essential requirement is some form of concrete action that will restore hope and confidence.

TWO EVENTS in the international field have made unity easier. The first was the election of a Republican Administration in the United States which Europeans believe is increasingly disposed toward a policy of "rollback." The second is the Soviet peace offensive, which has made a profound impression in Europe. It is no accident that the municipal elections of April, 1953, just after the inauguration of this new Soviet policy, saw the Socialists for the first time since 1947 accepting on a large scale Communist proposals for cooperation. Though agreements were reached in only a minority of towns and villages they were sufficiently numerous to constitute an undeniable straw in the wind.

This grass-roots movement soon made itself felt on the parliamentary level. When the political history of these postwar years is finally written, the candidacy of Pierre Mendès-France for the post of Premier during the last ministerial crisis will undoubtedly be put down as a turning point in the evolution of France if not of Western Europe. Its importance lay above all in showing that there was an alternative to the *immobilisme* which had prevailed in France since 1947, an alternative that might prove acceptable to the whole of the left. A highly competent economist with a clearly defined program of *dirigisme* and austerity, and a known partisan of negotiation in Indo-China, Mendès-France succeeded in obtaining 306 votes, only 7 less than an absolute majority, without the support of the Communists, who control a block of approximately 100 seats.

The full significance of this vote can only be appreciated in the light of an exchange of commentaries between Socialists and Communists. The Socialists, who for the first time in two years abandoned their attitude of opposition to vote for Mendès-France, reproached the Communists with lack of good faith in posing as the defenders of the workers when they refused this concrete chance for progress. On the following day a surprising editorial in *l'Humanité* maintained that the Communists were always ready to cooperate with other parties in order to deal with the most urgent issues. The most urgent issue at the moment, the writer asserted, was the war in Indo-China. And he concluded that if Mendès-France had not watered down his demands on this question to woo the Gaullists, the Communist deputies would have voted for him. Whether or not one takes these declarations at face value, they represent an interesting expression of the more supple tactics adopted by the Communist parties of Western Europe in recent months.

There is no doubt that the seemingly empty ritual of a vote on investing a Premier, a vote that did not succeed, served to crystallize popular sentiment, especially in the unions. Without this precedent, the workers' discontent with their economic conditions might well have produced an explosion of some sort, but it would hardly have been so well organized or inspired with the same confidence. Breaking out in the post office at Bordeaux, the strike rapidly engulfed the postal system, and from there spread first to other public services and then to a variety of private enterprises. Its immediate cause was the decree-laws recently issued by the Laniel government in accordance with an authorization received from the Assembly before it recessed for the summer holidays. It is a fact that these decrees require certain civil servants and railway employees to work from two to five years longer in order to be eligible for full pension, and that they reduce job security in certain cases. But present disadvantage was probably less important as a motive than anxiety about what the Laniel government, unquestionably the farthest right since the Liberation, would do next. Of course, at the root there remains the fact that the starting salary of a postal employee is 18,000 francs a month, 2,000 less than the legal "vital minimum," which is scarcely enough to buy food.

I TURN BACK now to my meeting with the strike committee of Post Office employees for the Department of the Loire, at which the Communist delegate made the remark I quoted at the beginning of this article. The interview took place at the C. G. T. labor exchange in St. Etienne, a fairly important mining community southwest of Lyon. Three members of the twelve-man strike committee, one from each of the confederations, were taking their turn at strike headquarters. All three appeared to be between thirty and forty; all were notably intelligent and well-informed.

The most striking impression left by the conversation of these men was of their unity of purpose and reciprocal confidence. It was natural that the representative of the C. G. T., which has been campaigning incessantly for "unity of action," should show the greatest enthusiasm on this point, but everything he said was greeted with unhesitating approval by the others. "For six years," he said, "our action has been paralyzed by internal quarrels. Now, in the course of this struggle, we have found a unity such as has not existed for forty years. Our task is to maintain that unity. Every day for nine days our committee has met to prepare a communiqué. At the beginning it was often difficult to agree on the wording, for we had lost the habit of working together; but every day it has become easier."

Not less interesting than this sense of unity was the way unity was being maintained. Now it was the representative of the Force Ouvrière who did most of the talking, but once again there was no doubt that his position was universally accepted. The method adopted to preserve unity was, quite simply, an absolute concentration on economic issues, and more precisely on the welfare of the workers as a whole. At that time (June 14), they indicated, it was no longer a question merely of the regulations concerning Post Office employees but of the abrogation of the decree-laws and of an increase in the purchasing power of all workers. When I suggested that this implied the fall of the Laniel government they countered that such matters were "outside the province of union activity." They did not care whether the government was of the right or the left, they said, so long as it gave them satisfaction.

In France, of all countries, where the relations between the three unions and the corresponding parties are particularly close, such an assertion is obviously not to be taken seriously. I told them as much in clear-cut terms, and they smiled broadly in tacit acknowledgement that it was so. But it was impossible to get a

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word out of them to this effect. They did not give the impression of bowing to an order from above; it seemed on the contrary that here on the departmental level the leaders of the three unions were conscious of the exact conditions on which unity was possible, and that they were determined to pay the price.

HOW SUCCESSFUL they had been in the postal service in maintaining this unity, I had already learned to my cost. In the little mountain village where I have been passing my holidays, situated in a highly conservative region where the post office has remained open, not a single letter has arrived since the beginning of the strike ten days ago, except from the immediate vicinity. At the main post office in St. Etienne the entire building was locked and barred, except for a small room containing one telephone operator charged by the union to accept long-distance calls in case of emergency. At the other end of the same room were a hundred or so general-delivery boxes, behind which moved two individuals distributing a couple of dozen letters between them.

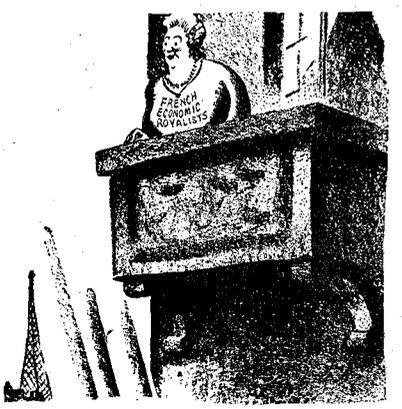
"So," I said, "the mail is arriving after all."

"Naturally," replied one of the men, pointing with considerable pride to the score or so of letters in his hand and in the boxes. "These are letters sent from Paris the tenth and eleventh."

Twenty letters in four days for a city of nearly 200,000 people! At least it might represent a beginning. "How does it happen that you two are working?" I continued. "I thought everyone was on strike." The fellow looked at me with a pitying smile. "We're the police," he replied, gesticulating with the letters in his hand.

This may well stand as a symbol of the methods of the Laniel government for dealing with the strikes—and of their effectiveness. The Premier has said that no one could have the interests of the workers more at heart than himself, and that he will be glad to do something about it provided they first stop all this nonsense and return quietly to work. In order to urge them in this direction, the government has employed the police and the army to replace the strikers. It has also requisitioned key workers and in certain instances imprisoned those who refused to report, as most of them did.

These measures do not seem to have sensibly affected the courage of the strikers. Only two of twelve senior letter carriers had been arrested in St. Etienne; the others could not be found, and I gathered that all three unions probably had a hand in hiding them. The group that gathered around our table included several men and women who had been suspended from their jobs for refusal to report and did not know whether or not



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

they could look forward to any income in the future; but all of them were smiling as broadly as though they were on a picnic.

THE FEAR haunting the French bourgeoisie is that these strikes, which have been likened to those of 1936, will lead to similar results. No doubt many Americans will find this outlook rather alarming. Even a mildly pinkish France would hardly aid in the realization of the European Defense Community, at least in its present form and with German participation. The members of the strike committee at St. Etienne asked me a question which I believe is meant for those moderate Americans who would like to see Europeans assured of the well-being necessary to human dignity but are genuinely fearful that without heavy concentration on defense the rest of the Continent may fall under Communist domination. In any case, I am going to pass the question on to them.

It was put by the representative of the F. O., whose sympathies for America are well known, but the representative of the Communist C. G. T. seemed not less interested in the answer. The question was this: "Do you feel that in the present circumstances American labor would be disposed to show its solidarity with us French workers?"

I replied that this would depend essentially on the ultimate political expression of the strikes; that whereas American unions would certainly not support a new Popular Front, they might perhaps support a government headed by Mendès-France. All three—Socialist, Catholic, and Communist—showed clearly by their reactions that this was what they had expected, and wanted, to hear.

Needless to say, my answer was merely a personal one. In particular, I deliberately passed over the problem of the American reaction to negotiations in Indo-China.

On America's answer will depend, not the formation of a Cabinet headed by Mendès-France or someone like him, for this now appears almost certain, but rather what comes after it. If all three federations show strong signs of favoring this solution, which implies a domestic policy more nearly like the New Deal than like the British Labor government, it does not mean that they have suddenly ceased to be partisans of socialism in one form or another. It simply means they have all concluded that before France can go anywhere, it must be lifted out of the swamp and on to firm ground. Afterward, the different unions and parties will obviously push in at least partly different directions, and they may even stop talking about unity. Already the Catholic C. F. T. C. has warned against the "irresponsibility" of "unity of action" committees.

But in the meantime the "Mendès-France experiment" will have begun. It will have put into effect severe economic controls; it will have begun to push French industry toward a long-overdue reorganization; it will be undertaking diplomatic action to end the war in Indo-China by negotiation and to reduce the scale of rearmament in Europe in order to free indispensable funds for economic development and for raising the standard of living. The question which American labor leaders—and Americans in general—must ask themselves is twofold: Is there anything in such a program that runs counter to their real interests? Would it be wise of America to use its influence to bring it to an end prematurely, without knowing what "experiment"—of the right or of the left—might take its place?

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SHAPE OF A TABLE

Critical Days at U. N. . . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

THIS is probably the first international conference in history to have devoted so much profound thought to an item of furniture. The item is a table, and it is a rare orator that does not refer to its shape. The United States insists on that scarce specimen, a two-sided table. The British and the French want it round. The Canadians, who have produced most of the statesmanship seen thus far at this session, say they do not care whether the table is round, square, or polygonal, provided it is suitable for a conference. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, who seems destined for trouble with the American nationalists, recommends a table "without any sides." And so involved have become the semantics of this discussion that one correspondent, in all seriousness, suggests a "round table with three sides."

The shape of the table is important. It is a guide to the political philosophy and hopes of each nation. The United States sees no hope of a satisfactory settlement at the coming political conference. It does not wish this conference to drag on for months and years, and, above all, it does not wish it to lead to a discussion of far more portentous issues than the fate of Korea. It agrees with the North Korean General Nam Il that there should be only two sides. "Let the two hostile camps meet across a table," Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., says in effect, "and let them hammer the Korean settlement out—if they can do so within ninety days."

Our Western allies find this notion alarming. They see the Korean talks as the first step toward an easing of world, or at least Asian, tensions. They think that an agreement with the Communists is not impossible, and they at least want to make a good try at it. They also feel that the question of China's position cannot be put off much longer.

MARK GAYN, author of four books on the Far East, is covering the current U. N. Assembly for The Nation.

In his first major statement of the British position, Selwyn Lloyd underlined Europe's uneasiness: "We do not wish the conference as a kind of political Panmunjom. . . . Whatever may be said about the shape of the table, in fact this will be a conference in the true sense of the word—a peace conference at which many voices will be heard." Like most of the Europeans, the British have no fear of talks that might last more than ninety days; they do not see the Communists as a defeated side, to which ultimatums can usefully be presented; and they are quite ready to discuss the problem of China's position in post-war Asia —once the Communists show a willingness to compromise on the question of Korea. With their mind on Indo-China the French agree with the British. Let the political conference, they say, be broad enough to deal with all the points of political soreness in Asia.

OUT OF THE difference of views on the shape of the table spring many anxieties. The current session of the General Assembly was expected to be a forum at which the new governments in Moscow and Washington would display their new policies and political philosophies. Press veterans who have covered these sessions for years do detect a new and a more conciliatory note. But if there is one, it is barely perceptible. Some of the vitriol is gone, but the positions remain unyielding. Mr. Lodge clearly reflects Washington's continued belief that no agreement with Moscow is likely. And Mr. Vishinsky, in turn caustic and idyllic, continues to contrast the "interventionists"—which in Russian has a much nastier connotation than in English—who "plunged Korea into war," with the Russians, who have consistently championed peace and never, no, never, have supplied any arms to North Korea, save those left behind in 1948 by the withdrawing Soviet troops.

But what worries the Western delegates here most is the shape of the new American policy. There is as much puzzlement here as fascination. The delegates buttonhole the American correspondents and wait for clues in Mr. Lodge's statements and in his stern tones. Will the United States sit tight in its bastions and ignore the views and counsels of its allies? Is it true that Washington's "don't-give-them-an-inch" stand was formulated by Secretary Dulles and Mr. Lodge on the trans-Pacific flight from Seoul? Who is making the American policy—Secretary Dulles, who has chosen this moment to go off on a vacation; Mr. Lodge, who is perhaps somewhat less than a statesman; or is it Admiral Radford, the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff? In fact, one sometimes suspects that no American quite fascinates the U. N. delegates as does this naval exponent of a "treat-them-rough" policy in Asia.

"What *is* the American foreign policy?" asks a delegate from a neutral corner in Europe. "Does it seek a perpetuation of the 'cold war,' or does it aim at some sort of world-wide settlement, beginning with Asia? Does Washington think it can talk to the Chinese or the North Koreans as if they had been beaten in combat? Will it ignore Europe's growing eagerness to work out some sort of modus vivendi with the Communists? One of our problems is that we are no longer sure what the American policy is. We have a feeling it is made haphazardly, on a day-to-day basis. This is one reason why we now hesitate to follow American leadership. We don't know where it will take us."

NOT SURPRISINGLY, perhaps the most notable feature of this session is the appearance of fissures in the Western front. The fissures are not wide, but they are there all the same, and with a beaver's persistence Vishinsky keeps searching for them and trying to broaden them. The shape of the table to be used at the political conference is not the only object of difference. There are a

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dozen of them, and none of them is perhaps so troublesome as the question of Syngman Rhee and his seeming capacity to influence American foreign policy.

This capacity may only be a myth, but it is widely believed here that the United States' refusal to have India at the political conference has been dictated by Rhee. The lobby word is that he warned Dulles that if India were invited to attend, South Korea would walk out. There is another report making rounds here that is probably even better substantiated. Right after the Korean truce Japan's Foreign Minister, Katsuo Okazaki, told the Diet that Japan wished to have a voice at the political conference. Later Mr. Okazaki modified this position somewhat by suggesting that Japan would be content to have its views reflected. On Mr. Dulles's return from Seoul the Japanese ambassador in Washington called at the State Department, presumably to discuss Japan's participation in the conference. A reliable source here tells me the ambassador was given to understand that Mr. Rhee was just as opposed to Japan as he was to India and that therefore no possibility existed at the moment of having Japan at the conference—in body or even in spirit. Mr. Rhee has thus been seemingly able to veto the participation in the conference of the two greatest non-Communist countries in Asia.

MOST OF THE Western delegates here look to the forthcoming political conference with disquiet. Will Rhee be able to bar any settlement unacceptable to him? Are the United Nations committed to support him in the "liberation march" he promises almost daily? Is there any physical possibility of establishing his rule over all of Korea, and is he the champion of freedom and democracy that he claims to be? One Western diplomat told me flatly he believed the presence of Rhee's army on the Yalu would provide a source of constant and dangerous international friction, for Rhee, the advocate of a "Greater Korea," would never be content to sit on the Yalu passively.

Perhaps equally dangerous is the possibility that in pressing Rhee's case the United States is slowly isolating itself from its allies. The first week of the session has witnessed an anxious effort to cover the fissures, to make concessions to the United States, to pretend that the strains are not serious. But the patches will not remove the fissures. And to some observers the real danger is still ahead, when the political conference and the coming eighth session of the Assembly will add to the stresses of the anti-Communist alliance.

But if one looks for the one dramatic issue that has made this session memor-

able, it will be, beyond any doubt, the American snub to India. If the support of Rhee has produced something akin to anger, this has generated puzzlement and consternation. "Why has Washington done it?" has become the favorite question in the U. N. corridors. The answers vary from the suggestion that India is too pro-Communist to be trusted at a conference table ("Let the Reds invite India!") to the intimation that the United States had gone so far in pressing the "cold war" that it would not tolerate the presence of a moderating influence at the political conference.

The Indians themselves have borne this affront with a silent dignity, and perhaps nothing at the session has symbolized this better than V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, with his dark and brooding face of a poet and thinker. It was Menon who drafted the original resolution which brought about the truce in Korea, and it is Menon's India which has undertaken the messy and ungrateful job of repatriating the balky prisoners of war. As one of the major Asiatic powers India could well demand a seat at the conference. But there is an obvious reluctance to press the issue, and apart from some discreet lobbying, the Indian delegation has made no move.

Privately, however, the Indians are known to be bitter. They feel the snub is both unexpected and undeserved. It is certain that the hurt to pride will endure, and color India's view of the United States for a long time to come. "We used to look on the United States," a prominent Indian told me, "as an anti-imperialist power. Today, along with most of Asia, we see it as a bumptious and bellicose country, convinced it can buy the friendship and allegiance of other nations. And yet, at the same time, the United States insists on a recognition of its disinterest and good intentions."

WHY IS the United States opposed to India's participation in the conference? The Indians think the answer is compounded of many things. "The United States has made heavy commitments to Rhee, who doesn't want us at the table. The Americans themselves want no war, and no peace, and certainly they don't want a voice of reasonableness at the political conference. The Americans believe that in any major war India will either be a neutral or an enemy. As a matter of fact, we do want to be neutral. We believe neither in a preventive war nor a preventive fear. Unlike the Americans, for instance, we are not afraid of communism in Indo-China; we are more afraid of the war there. What India wants is peace and stability, and what it offers at the political conference is reasonableness."

India's position may be wise or not, but to most Western diplomats here the American position on India is distinctly unwise. As I write this, India's chances of winning a seat at the conference table look slim. The West is already possessed of too many strains to add to them the stress of a drag-out fight over India's nomination. But the opposition to India will not enhance America's prestige in Asia, and the Communists can be depended on to make the most of this opportunity. Like China, India is an overwhelming geographic reality in Asia; neither can be ignored, or banished, as if it were a ghost. If there is any agreement at this discordant meeting, it is that all the decisions and moves made are short-term, unlikely to survive the season. Rhee would have to be reduced to his proper size, India and Japan recognized as major powers, and a genuine effort made to discuss and meet the problem of an Asia all but dominated by China.

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STRIKE AT ARMA

Engineers' Key Role . . . *by Herbert Orrell*

IN PICTURESQUE Nassau County, home of the Belmont race track and Old Guard Republicanism, a new kind of strike is taking place which could have profound implications for the American labor movement. For the first time in this country white-collar engineers—as a group traditionally anti-union and isolated from the mainstream of American labor—have pooled forces with shop workers to resist a bitter onslaught against unions by the Arma Corporation, designer and manufacturer of secret electronic equipment for the armed forces.

A month ago about four-thousand members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (C. I. O.) walked out of the Arma plant in protest against the corporation's disregard of seniority rights in firing 158 workers. Within seventy-two hours the Arma Engineers' Association, representing 760 engineers, scientists, and other white-collar technicians, voted almost unanimously to respect the picket lines. Not a single professional worker has since crossed the line, and the engineers' group—which has its own grievances against the company—has agreed with the I. U. E. that neither will sign a new contract with management unless the other does also.

This concerted effort is the more remarkable in that it represents a healing of old wounds. In 1951 the Arma engineers were given the choice, at an N. L. R. B. election, to join the C. I. O. or to form an independent union. They chose the latter course. That same year the engineers struck, but their picket lines were not respected by the shop workers.

The early days of the current strike were marked by violence. On the first morning of the walk-out Richard C. Smyth, a vice-president of Arma and head of the company's negotiating team, knocked down two strikers when he attempted to drive his car through the picket lines. A grand jury failed to indict him on a charge of felonious assault. During the next two days fourteen pickets were arrested by the Nassau County police—not too gently, it must be said—and charged with disorderly conduct and molesting cars trying to enter the gate. Bail was set at $500 each. On the third day of the strike another Arma executive, ignoring the lane established by the police for the entry of supervisors and other personnel permitted to pass, drove his car into a line of women pickets, injuring two policemen and two women. A grand jury also refused to indict him.

Fortunately, the company and the union have since signed an agreement which should prevent further incidents. At the request of the federal Mediation and Conciliation Service the two parties have arrived at an understanding governing the conduct of picketing and the maintenance of peaceful conditions during the strike. Its main features are that the company will not undertake any productive work and that the union will permit certain non-union personnel to enter the plant. Peace now prevails on the lines, and the battle has settled down into one of attrition.

Although not officially on strike, the engineers realize that the C. I. O.'s battle is their battle, too. Wage rates are involved, but seniority rights are the crux of the strike, and settlement, when it comes, will probably revolve about the issue of "bumping." Under bumping, a basic tenet of C. I. O. unionism, a man slated for discharge is permitted to replace a worker with less seniority provided he has the necessary skills. The justification for bumping is that a man with a lot of seniority has usually progressed through various labor grades and is therefore qualified to do the work of lesser grades. Management, however, usually maintains that bumping is disruptive and costs money. Arma wants to calculate a worker's seniority by his occupation in his department, which is tantamount to eliminating seniority.

WHILE seniority is the key issue, there are others nearly as important. Altogether they add up to a determined effort on the part of the company to break the unions or to reduce them to impotence. The C. I. O. unions and the engineers have been subjected to the same kind of treatment. Not only is plant-wide seniority to be eliminated, but the C. I. O. has been presented with demands that all employees be reclassified and that all jobs be rerated unilaterally by the company. The engineers have been confronted by two proposals which take away merit increases and institute wage cuts. In addition the company wants the right to fire without notice and the right to limit the number of elected officials the engineers' union may have.

Efforts to settle the strike through federal mediation have been fruitless. Only perfunctory meetings have taken place since the walkout. As one union official put it, "They show up physically, which they have to do by law, but that doesn't mean they are willing to talk." In view of the company's obduracy, the engineers have filed two unfair-labor-practices charges, one accusing Arma of instituting new working conditions without bargaining and the other with a refusal to negotiate. The engineers are also attempting to get Defense Secretary Wilson to look into the matter of Arma's

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HERBERT ORRELL, an engineer and free-lance writer, contributed the article on Engineers and Unionism to The Nation *of June 21, 1952.*

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charging its arbitration costs to overhead.

Smyth's harsh contract proposals are closely tied in with the company's insistence that Arma is in serious financial difficulties. The company claims to have lost $4,000,000 in 1952, although it admits it is now again in the black. Smyth's argument is that he wants to institute "certain contractual changes" which will help make a "sick company into a healthy one." But early this spring, when both the C. I. O. and the engineers pleaded with President Kenneth H. Rockey to meet with them to discuss the company's troubles, the request was ignored. When I questioned Mr. Smyth as to why the company had turned a deaf ear to the unions' suggestion, he said that he feared the true facts would not get back to the membership.

The strike is receiving financial support from both the district C. I. O. and the individual members of the newly formed Engineers and Scientists of America, a federation of some 30,000 professional workers employed in the engineering industries with which the Arma engineers are affiliated.

Arma's computers are a keystone in the navy's anti-submarine program. The company also has important atomic-energy commitments. Yet in contrast to 1951, when the engineers struck for union recognition, there has been no pressure by the armed forces to end the strike.

In the opinion of everyone familiar with the strike and the issues, the action of the Arma Corporation represents a brutal attack on union security. It becomes clearer every day that the company's master-plan has been worked out to the last detail. If the company wins, it is a safe bet that labor relations in the defense industries—and perhaps elsewhere—will take a turn for the worse. The engineers and the C. I. O. are in this battle for survival. So far morale is high.

As in most labor disputes, the strikers take it on the chin.. Even though they may belong to the credit union, they cannot now borrow from it. Under New York state laws, strikers are disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance for a period of forty-nine days.

INDONESIA

Eighth Anniversary . . *by Herbert Feith*

Caulfield, Australia

IT IS little wonder that journalists don't like Jakarta. Customs officials treat them casually, hotel keepers have no room, and *betjak* drivers fleece them. The place is hot. The oases of coolness and cocktails are few and far between. The oases are the journalist's easiest source of news. It is from the isolated, disprivileged, envied, unhappy white residents of Jakarta that he gets what the world press publishes. This fact is not unimportant in evaluating reports of Indonesia's progress since it proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945.

Not until December 27, 1949, did the country succeed in transforming its declaration into a reality. What has happened since?

Let us look first at the situation in 1950. It was a year of triumph and chaos. The fire of the successful revolution had spread rapidly from its centers in the mountains of Java and Sumatra to every part of the archipelago. It put a quick end to the Dutch-built structure of federated states. The country breathed hope and resolution, but the tasks before it were enormous. Devastated by eight years of war and saddled by the Hague agreement with an enormous national debt, Indonesia had to struggle to afford the radical changes which alone would keep its old nationalist fighters from returning to violence.

Out of this situation arose the turbulent disorders which characterized much of 1950. A number of ugly incidents occurred in Jakarta. Administration was crippled by internal conflicts and by the large-scale exodus of Dutch personnel. Pilfering and banditry were common. A series of large successful strikes increased the disinclination of foreigners to invest the urgently needed capital.

How does 1953 compare? In the field of administration not badly. Government machinery, it is true, is still, by Western standards, frightfully inefficient; the spoils system operates on many levels; there is racial discrimination and not a little corruption; large numbers of civil servants, particularly in Jakarta, lack working discipline, and those who were urged on by their revolutionary élan have frequently slackened out of disillussionment. Nevertheless, the structure is functioning. Communications are normal, economic regulations are enforced, and routine complaints are given a reasonable hearing. This is truly amazing when one remembers that only a handful of Dutch and Eurasians are left in the government service and that the pre-war Dutch policy of denying education to Indonesians was carried to such lengths that in 1940 only thirty-seven students graduated from Indonesian colleges.

Furthermore, the government is functioning very much better at lower levels than at the overburdened and politically paralyzed center. It is providing the villager with a host of welfare services, from free primary schooling (in the areas of the old Jogja Republic) to information about manure and injections for his chickens. It does not lend him as much money as he needs, but on the other hand the local officials do not dare to be as high-handed as they were in the days of the Dutch. And a peasant can now hope that his sons will be officials one day.

HERBERT FEITH, an Australian, recently served a two-year term as an official of the Indonesian government.

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As to the security situation, the impression given by the world press that there is widespread sporadic violence is utterly false. Sumatra is now entirely safe, and so is the eastern half of Java; Borneo is virtually the same. The Jakarta resident is no longer bothered by curfew. His wife can walk around freely in the evening. Real trouble, however, continues to exist in parts of the western half of Java, and a shadow of it in southern Celebes. The principal disturber of the peace in these areas is the fanatically Moslem group, Darul Islam. The harm which this "state" of mountain guerrillas has done Indonesia, in loss of life, production, and morale, is tremendous, and the government's inability to crush it is one of its worst failures.

Why has it failed? Though Darul Islam was uncompromisingly anti-Dutch during the revolution and took a popular position on economic and political issues, its present strength lies in its military superiority and the fear which its cruelty inspires. Its followers are not ideologues but bandits, and it is bitterly hated by most of the villagers. But to oppose it is immeasurably more dangerous than to oppose the government, since the penalty is not imprisonment but butchery of a man's whole family. Moreover, its tactics are adapted to the rugged jungle country in which it operates, and it not only holds numerous old arms dumps but buys arms from international smugglers who land on the stretches of coast it controls.

Successive governments have tried to establish a network of army "forts" in the villages of the whole troubled area, but well-trained, disciplined soldiers are in very short supply. Another major obstacle has been the unrealistic policy of the Islamic parties, which have demanded a political as well as a military solution. Much has been achieved, but the rebels' back is not broken.

ECONOMICALLY, the country has made progress. Over-all production is now roughly at its pre-war level; rubber, oil, and tin are considerably above; sugar, tea, coffee, and quinine somewhat below. As much rice is grown as before the war, but the 15 per cent increase in population requires large and expensive rice imports. Indonesia has always suffered excessively from world-market fluctuations and was caught defenseless by the 1950-52 slump in raw-materials prices. The government was forced to impose drastic import restrictions and to cut government expenditures. As a result commodity prices have risen and some, though relatively few, development projects have been cut back.

To make Indonesia's economy less one-sidedly agricultural has been the aim of every government. Heavy industry is not the question here. What Indonesia needs is more and better-mechanized light and domestic industries which will also alleviate the large-scale concealed unemployment. Last year's import regulations have brought about considerable recovery in domestic textile production. Small mechanical units, or "centrals," placed strategically in a cottage-industry area and often using machinery provided by the United States, have helped the leather, ceramics, and batik industries. The various cooperative enterprises which Vice-President Hatta has helped to develop have also increased production.

The chief requirements for greater industrialization as for the equally necessary mechanization of agriculture and other economic projects are capital and trained personnel. The foreign assistance allotted to Indonesia, including a $100,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan, has been tiny compared with what other Asian countries have received. In consequence public works and plans for the very necessary transfer of population from Java to more sparsely inhabited islands have been curtailed. More serious, perhaps, is the fact that private business is not investing, partly out of fear of strikes and banditry but much more because of the unpredictability of party politics.

The prospect for building up a supply of trained personnel is brighter. Every government agency has its training institutions. Every firm, foreign as well as native, must train Indonesians in management and technical skills. Hundreds if not thousands of students and government officials have gone abroad to study. There are two or three times as many technical and vocational schools as there were before the war. The number of university students is more than twenty-five times as large. The same passionate desire to learn, and the same rapid if sometimes shoddy development of institutions to meet it is seen in the field of primary education. Teachers are overworked and often inadequately trained, but a basis is being laid for the modernization that Indonesia needs and wants.

ALL DEVELOPMENTS since independence have been held up by the bottleneck of politics. There are dozens of political parties—nineteen are represented in the temporary and only partly elected parliament—and each is divided into factions. They can be grouped as Islamic, Nationalist, Socialist, and Communist, but within these groups and especially within the first two are deep personal and political antagonisms and so a thousand different possibilities of alliance on vari-

Must the State Fall in the Interest of the Parties?

(The cartoon above appeared in a Jakarta students' monthly at a time when party rivalries threatened the position of Finance Minister Sumitro of the Wilopo government in Indonesia.)

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ous issues. This situation partially explains why none of the post-1949 Cabinets except the first—the non-party Cabinet of Vice-President Hatta—has been able to govern firmly.

Of the five Cabinets since independence three have had as their core an alliance of the Masjumi, the leading Moslem party, with the P. N. I., biggest of the nationalist parties. In Natsir's Cabinet the Masjumi were the only big party; the present Cabinet of Ali Sastroanidjojo, former ambassador in Washington, has the P. N. I. at its center. But the Masjumi and P. N. I. ministers in these Cabinets have represented only one wing of their party and had to battle constantly to get support for government policies. Again and again government action has been made impossible by parliamentary opposition and by inter-party and intra-party struggles. The Wilopo government, could do little more than arrange compromises between the contending parties.

Internal quarrels have been intensified by relations with Holland, which have never really improved. Anti-Dutch feeling has been kept alive by the Irian (West New Guinea) issue, the attempted assassination of the Indonesian military attaché at The Hague, the abortive coup of the Dutch adventurer, Westerling, in West Java and Indonesian demands for his extradition, and

President Soekarno

a series of unhappy incidents for which both sides are to blame.

In the last eighteen months or so oppositional and extreme nationalist sentiment has received strong impetus from the Indonesian Communist Party, the P. K. I. Anxious to free itself from the anti-national stigma resulting from its unsuccessful uprising in 1948, it has tried to weld various nationalist and splinter Islamic groups into a new "national front" and by this tactic has added greatly to the difficulties of the government. The P. K. I. is strong but not growing in strength, particularly not in the trade unions, and it has shown a remarkable inability to attract intellectuals. Its alliance with sundry nationalist groups, particularly the P. N. I., should perhaps be interpreted as a confession of weakness, but it was largely responsible for the fall of Wilopo in June—over an aspect of land policy in East Sumatra.

Only the long-awaited nation-wide elections can end the political deadlock. Elections will produce a crystallization of political views, and if as is generally expected they give an absolute majority to the Masjumi, the result will be a government which can govern. But a strong government is needed to defy the hidden opposition to the holding of elections and to moderate the party conflicts, religious and political, which will be aggravated as they approach. It was partly the desire for such a strong government that led the Masjumi and the Socialists in the crisis of June-July to advocate a Presidential Cabinet led by Hatta. There were certain constitutional reasons against this policy, but probably the political ones were more powerful. Some observers regard the formation of the present Cabinet as a last attempt to prevent one headed by Hatta.

The political deadlock has held up the whole machinery of government and is producing despair of democratic processes. Indonesian democracy can be maintained only if it is broken and the government proves strong enough to call and scrupulously supervise nation-wide elections.

ANOTHER G. O. P. GRAB

After Oil, the Land . . . *by Richard L. Neuberger*

Portland, Ore.

WHEN the Republicans won the Presidency in 1952, their platform promised legislation to protect "the rights and privileges of grazers" by granting court review of orders of the Forest Service to cut down depredations on the public range. The platform also pledged "an opportunity for ownership by citizens" of acreage held by the national government.

The G. O. P. is now discovering that these pledges can be kept—at a price. The price is the probable loss to the Republican Party, forever, of the eleven states which stretch from the Continental Divide to the Pacific. Indignation over the bills to implement these ill-advised political promises is running through that most diversified and effective of all Western groups, the outdoor enthusiasts—a group which includes fishermen, hunters, campers, garden lovers, Scout masters, bird-watchers, and botanists. And it is flaring up in the large middle-class segments of the population on which the Republicans have always relied for much of their support.

The bills in question would allow stockmen grazing their animals on public

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon state senator and a well-known journalist. He writes frequently for The Nation *on the problems of the Northwest.*

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meadows to sell these forage permits when they sold their ranches. In other words, land owned by the public could virtually be transferred in fee simple. The bills would prevent the Forest Service from ordering a different type of herd to be grazed on government lands and from redistributing the permits in the interest of wider access to the public range. Such permits are needed, for example, by ex-G. I.'s eager to go into ranching. But perhaps the most sinister effect of these bills would be that the vigilant ranger riding by could not look at an eroded valley and order an immediate reduction in the number of sheep or cattle. He could issue the order, but his superiors would have to defend it in court, and the litigation might drag on for years while the people's land steadily crumbled away.

NATIONAL FORESTS contain some 80,000,000 acres suitable for grazing. A generous government has leased this land to 22,000 commercial livestock operators at extremely nominal fees. The range feeds about 1,300,000 cattle and nearly 4,000,000 sheep. The prevailing charge for cattle is 67 cents a month per head and for sheep 12½ cents.

Not content with this bounty, the stockmen want to be given practically quitclaim deeds to the land. When a big Western ranch is sold, the price is always affected by the fact that contiguous acreage in the National Forests is controlled by the government rather than by the operator. The bills sponsored by Senators Butler of Nebraska and Barrett of Wyoming and Representative D'Ewart of Montana would diminish this government sovereignty over public lands. They are designed to carry out the Republican campaign promises of 1952.

What the platform writers at Chicago forgot was that other people besides stockmen have a stake in the national forests, which encompass 38 per cent of the area of the state of Idaho, 25 per cent of Oregon, and 21 per cent of California. In these green solitudes the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Y. M. C. A.'s of the West have their camps. The drinking water of such big cities as Los Angeles, Denver, and Portland comes from the watersheds they cover and protect. Urban dwellers from the whole United States visit the forests to hunt deer and elk or whip white water for trout. The Republicans emphasize the fees paid for grazing, which in Oregon and Washington last year amounted to $381,709, but the sums collected for hunting and fishing licenses totaled a whopping $4,397,771.

If the grazers cannot be restrained from stripping the hillsides bare, the watersheds will be ruined. Studies have shown that the cost of purifying water runs about $8.50 per million gallons when the source of supply is protected by trees and grass but may soar to $27 per million gallons when a watershed has been gutted. And if the equity of the stockmen becomes superior to that of the government, who will defend the presence of the Boy Scouts and naturalists, and vacationers?

That the Republicans are playing with plutonium-235 is indicated by the reaction of the press, even of newspapers which ardently supported Eisenhower for President. The Denver *Post* has charged that the bills "open the door to an unprecedented land grab by the big operator with the most money." The *Salt Lake Tribune* asserts they "would reverse the tried and true policy of administering our national forests for the greatest good of the greatest number."

Wildlife groups are holding emergency meetings. Conservationists declare that never before have the forests been in such peril. The *Oregon Grange Bulletin* has said that the new Administration may be writing Part II of the old tome, "Looters of the Public Domain." It must be remembered, too, that the nation's tidelands have just been bestowed upon three states, and that Secretary of the Interior McKay has jettisoned the government's claim to the great water-power site in the lava heart of Hell's Canyon.

IN THE FIGHT to save the national forests retired officials of the Forest Service are showing a crusading zeal. These men, some of whom served under Gifford Pinchot himself, are not fettered by political considerations. Lyle F. Watts, chief forester of the United States for ten years, has pointed out that the forests are what remain of the people's heritage from the Louisiana Purchase and the explorations of Lewis and Clark. Christopher M. Granger, a federal forester since 1907, asserts that stockmen want to take over the public meadows because the rangers charged with safeguarding them against erosion have insisted on reductions in the number of grazing animals. Granger has revealed that the feeling in "stock-raising communities is so bitter that forest rangers and their families are ostracized by neighbors."

Reports are current in the West that present officials of the Forest Service prepared a blistering report on the bills to turn over the grazing lands to the

stockmen and that the report was approved by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, who has jurisdiction over the Forest Service, but held up by the White House. After all, promises that are not kept do not attract large campaign contributions.

The Republicans have been warned that they cannot offend the campers and conservationists and again carry the Western states. The risk was highlighted recently when Robert W. Sawyer, editor of the Bend, Oregon, *Bulletin,* appeared before the House Interior Committee in opposition to the stockmen's bills. Sawyer is a conservative Republican. He worked for Taft before Chicago and for Eisenhower after Chicago. He rarely sees any good in a Democrat or evil in a Republican. But in concluding his testimony before a committee dominated by Republicans, this Republican editor chose to quote a statement by Adlai E. Stevenson, which ran as follows:

> The greatest importance of the national forests is the protection of our watersheds. In many parts of the West protection of the forests and the grasslands means the difference between healthy streams and destructive loss of water; dependable water systems as against floods, silted-up irrigation systems, and dams filling with sediment. That is why we must resist efforts to take away from the public the control of our forest ranges.

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BOOKS

The Knave of Clubs

MEMOIRS. By Franz von Papen. Translated by Brian Connell. E. P. Dutton and Company. $6.50.

HITLER'S SECRET CONVERSATIONS. 1941-44. Farrar, Straus and Young $6.50.

By Frederick L. Schuman

GAETANO SALVEMINI used to be fond of recounting an argument with Wickham Steed regarding Neville Chamberlain at the time of the "peace" of Munich. Steed urged that Chamberlain was merely a fool. Salvemini, passionately anti-fascist, held him a villain. At length the Italian agreed to compromise: "Very well, Mr. Steed, if you will agree that he is a villain, I will agree that he is also a fool!"

A similar problem is posed by these new contributions to the history and folklore of German fascism. Each book offers helpful insights and exciting, albeit grim, perspectives to those who know enough about the context to evaluate them critically. Each exposes the gullible to temptations more menacing than the propaganda of communism. But it is good to have the literature of fascism constantly before us. And it is by no means desirable that it be written or edited by anti-fascists. Neither of our authors qualifies. Yet both convey a message and even a moral of urgent import. Both publishers deserve congratulations for ventures that could scarcely have been pleasant to undertake.

The puzzle has not to do with the maniacal Führer who fooled so many that no one deemed him a fool. It has to do with the aristocrat, sportsman, and General Staff officer who in 1932 was made Chancellor by Schleicher to head the "Barons' Cabinet" concocted in the *Herren Klub.* Said Schleicher of Papen in March, 1933: "He proved to be the kind of traitor beside whom Judas Iscariot is a saint." Said Hitler of Papen (p. 183 f. of our second title): "We owe him a debt of gratitude, for it was he who opened the first breach in the sacred constitution. It's obvious that one couldn't expect more from him than that." Again: "Personally, Papen was an inoffensive man—but, by a sort of fatality, he surrounded himself with people who all had something on their conscience."

BUT THESE are mere fragments of the 600 pages of incredible balderdash which formed Hitler's "table-talk" at HQ during the war years. The world found unbelievable his earlier table-talk as reported by Hermann Rauschning. The later talk, as here transcribed by Heinrich Heim, Henry Picker, *et al.* and edited by Martin Bormann, will be universally deemed quite believable. The talk is the same. But the world has learned. H. R. Trevor-Roper, in a brilliant introduction on The Mind of Adolf Hitler, seeks to bring order out of chaos. The "secret conversations" are required reading for all who would fathom the depths of Nazism. For others they add little to the turgidities of "Mein Kampf" and of Hitler's orations. The Führer's style was always the same—that of a demagogue haranguing a mob.

Here are his views—from abortion, Africa, and art to war, Wilson, and Windsor. Here are arrogance and paranoia expressing themselves in his usual hatred of Jews, contempt for Slavs, envy of Britons, and invincible ignorance of America and Russia. Here are unusually frank and repeated appeals for the abolition of Christianity.

> I'm sure Nero didn't set fire to Rome. It was the Christian-Bolsheviks. . . . Old Dodd was an imbecile. We should have got him through his daughter. . . . Christianity is an invention of sick brains. . . . Streicher is irreplaceable. . . . Thank God, I've always avoided persecuting my enemies. . . . I never read a novel. That kind of reading annoys me. . . . Tobacco is poison. . . . Every traitor must be executed. [As for conscientious objectors] I contented myself with shooting 130 of these self-styled Bible students. Others then lost their courage and changed their minds. . . . The more we see of conditions in Russia, the more thankful we must be that we struck in time. . . . Stalin must command our unconditional respect. In his own way he is a hell of a fellow.

And so on through endless dribble to the last entries:

> Jesus was most certainly not a Jew. . . . It is comforting to see how, even in these days, the fatal relationship between Communism and Christianity is daily becoming clearer to the human intelligence. [J. B. Matthews please note!]

These pages validate anew Alan Bullock's somber judgment in his biography of Hitler (1952) and Churchill's characterization of him in 1941 as a "bloodthirsty guttersnipe" and "a monster of wickedness." He was less a barbarian, as he boasted, than a degenerate, bent upon the destruction of the civilization he hated—and bred, putrescently, out of the almost fatal diseases of that civilization itself.

HOW AND WHY this hideous caricature of a man became tyrant over Germany and Europe—and might well have become master of the world—has been much written about but is still little understood. The briefest formula which fits the facts is that his mass movement was a product of the neuroses of the *Kleinbürgertum* and that his conquest of the Reich and of the Continent was facilitated by the titled and moneyed élite of a sick society who believed that the new barbarism would protect their privileges against the Red Menace. Such was the folly of the Western Munichmen. And such, earlier, was the folly of the Junkers and industrialists who destroyed the German Republic and brought Hitler to power. None among them played a more prominent and effective role in consummating this disaster than Franz von Papen. And despite his denials, nothing in his "Memoirs" changes his role.

His book, translated and in part planned by Brian Connell in collaboration with author and son, is an apologia—for Papen and for Nazism, which he continued to serve faithfully to the end,

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN is Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College and author of "The Nazi Dictatorship," "Germany Since 1918," "The Commonwealth of Man," and other books.

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long after the Nazis had murdered his friends and he himself had seen his "mistakes." The final pages furnish the clue to all the rest. An appendix by James P. Warburg refutes a fantastic libel of René Sonderegger, though it does not at all prove, as Papen seeks to imply, "that on no occasion did I ever place a single penny at Hitler's disposal." Another appendix seeks, unsuccessfully, to refute Bullock's detailed account of Papen's part in bringing Hitler to power and in promoting the rape of Austria. The penultimate chapter makes much of Papen's acquittal at Nürnberg, conveniently failing to quote, or even hint at, the judgment of the Tribunal (Vol. XXII, p. 573):

> The evidence leaves no doubt that Von Papen's primary purpose as Minister to Austria was to undermine the Schuschnigg regime and strengthen the Austrian Nazis for the purpose of bringing about the Anschluss. To carry through this plan he engaged in both intrigue and bullying. But the Charter does not make criminal such offenses against political morality, however bad these may be. Under the Charter, Von Papen can be held guilty only if he was a party to the planning of aggressive war. . . . It is not established beyond a reasonable doubt that this was the purpose of his activity.

The purpose of Papen's book is to explain the purpose of all his political activity and to deny the purposes attributed to him. Did he plot sabotage in the United States in 1915? Not at all. Did he betray Brüning? Of course not. Did he seek the chancellorship which Schleicher thrust upon him? Heaven forfend. Did he plot with Schröder and Hindenburg to oust Schleicher and put Hitler in power with himself as Vice-Chancellor? All a misunderstanding, despite Schröder's testimony and Papen's admitted role of liaison between Hindenburg and Hitler. Did he serve Nazi purposes as Hitler's ambassador to Turkey? He served "peace" and his Fatherland.

ON THESE and a hundred other episodes the aging Papen has much to say, some of it clever, persuasive, and full of self-pity, some of it new. But what of the new is true, in the face of formidable evidence from other sources of its falseness, can be said only by a few experts. The saying would take a book as long as Papen's.

What we have here is a blue blood, a clubman, a Catholic, and a disciple of privilege and piety who helped powerfully to deliver much of Europe to communism under the delusion that he was saving it by delivering it to fascism. His values are clear enough. Hindenburg had "strength of character" and "modest, unassuming greatness." The Weimar constitution, in proclaiming "all power derives from the people," expresses "the false philosophy of Rousseau," which is "diametrically opposed to the teachings and traditions of the Roman Catholic church." The Junker *Landbund* becomes the "Farmers' Association." Hitler was "brought to power by the normal interplay of democratic processes"—which Papen had already suppressed. All talk of a "plot" is "fantasy." "The 'corporate state' has long been an element in Catholic social philosophy." "Even today it is impossible to say how the Reichstag fire was started." "Our principal concern was to eliminate class warfare. To achieve this we were prepared to approve the dissolution of the trade unions." "Göring and Goebbels can only be compared with the great figures of the French Revolution." *Und so weiter.*

The contemporary parallels to this type of blindness among some American country-club members are too striking to require emphasis. Papen was fully as "patriotic" and "sincere" as those business men who in the name of anti-communism praise and subsidize the Senator from Bedlam. Yet every ruling class that accepts such leadership is doomed. The best comment on Franz von Papen is Schiller's aphorism: "Against stupidity the very gods fight in vain."

The Cloisters

Fort Tryon Park—New York

Here in the Cloisters a fourth dimension evolves,
A remote time-place of monk, knight, and herald;
Here other men once made *their* peace with the world,
And that much harder peace, peace with themselves.

Today I walk alone in the silence almost heard,
The seven-century hush transported stone by stone
To this alien ground. I listen here alone,
The little fountain trills the clear song of a bird.

Though much here is "restored," much remains the same:
Carved angel, beast, placid and tormented soul
Gaze down from corbel, lintel, capital
Upon the same fevered flesh in frantic search of balm.

The cloister flowers, blue, gold, purple, pink, and white,
Are those once stained in glass, woven in tapestries—
Jonquils, hyacinths, daisies, violets, fleurs-de-lys,
The colors somewhat slack in this less brilliant light.

Through the western arches, as in painted fantasy,
Beyond the broad Hudson's rippling sheens and shades
Rise the riven rusts of sculptured Palisades,
And there for perspective against the sky a gull soars free.

Oh, I, I am a cheerless captive the cloister stones embrace.
I touch one stone decayed, not by time nor rain,
But by ingesting sorrow, passion, guilt, and pain,
A stone worn soft and gentle as a human face.

The sour corrupting acids are sucked up from my breast.
Who gives me this stone gives me a healing herb
With infinite capacity to draw out and absorb:
A smile denotes the cheerless captive become the cheerful guest.

SAMUEL YELLEN

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The Van Gogh Story

THE LIFE AND WORK OF VAN GOGH. By Carl Nordenfalk. Translated by Lawrence Wolfe. Philosophical Library. $6.

"I NOTICE," wrote Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Theo, "that what I learned in Paris is disappearing, and that I am returning to the ideas that came to me in the country before I made the acquaintance of the Impressionists."

Written from Arles, this statement aptly unifies the vicissitudes of Van Gogh's career. It might have served as headpiece for Carl Nordenfalk's superb synthesis of his life and work. The original edition of this book, published ten years ago, is now brought up to date and made available to English readers in Lawrence Wolfe's excellent translation. In a 200-page concentrate of his long and devoted study, the director of the National Gallery of Stockholm is more readable and far more engrossing than certain novelized accounts of the artist's life. It is a commentary on our time, quite in relation to Van Gogh's difficulties with his own world, that a brilliant and accurate study like this one will probably attract fewer readers than "Lust for Life." One can hope, however, that the current groundswell of public interest in Van Gogh's work, sparked by the magnificent exhibition held in New York and Chicago three years ago, will turn to profit the discrimination of Nordenfalk's publishers. For in its own way his book is as enthralling as the experience of the artist's work.

Nordenfalk has adopted the sensible procedure of letting his subject tell his own story through selections from his incomparable letters. These, with the author's interpolated commentary, cover Van Gogh's entire career, as do the seventy-two illustrations of the paintings and drawings, well reproduced and chosen for quality as well as unfamiliarity. A proper proportion of the illustrations, somewhat over a third, is devoted to Van Gogh's work in Holland before his arrival in Paris. Nordenfalk makes a serious attempt to arrange the bewildering variety of the Paris period (March, 1886 to February, 1888) into meaningful sequence. These were crucial years even though at Arles, and afterward at Saint-Rémy and at Auvers, Van Gogh transcended what they taught him, reverting to the true Northerner he was. (In America we too often think of him as a French painter, a mistake the French do not perpetuate.) A symbol of his cultural "return" is the Bridge at Arles: of a type unusual in Provence, it is strongly reminiscent of the canal bridges of Holland. Nordenfalk includes among the illustrations an interpretation of one of these which Van Gogh made at Drenthe in 1883.

FEW ADVERSE comments on this book are in order, and most of them concern the format rather than the contents. The reproductions are unfortunately grouped in batches that do not come at their proper place in the text, with the result that the reader must constantly leaf through pages to follow the argument. Frequently reference to the illustrations is omitted. The discussion of individual works is often so penetrating that one could wish for textual references on the plates themselves, particularly as some interesting comments occur parenthetically in other chapters. Of two known versions of an important painting called Daubigny's Garden at Auvers, one of which is probably a forgery, Nordenfalk includes the version in the National Gallery of Berlin rather than the one in a private collection in Basel, despite Ueberwasser's very convincing argument that it is not genuine. While this reviewer hesitates to cross swords with so keen a student of Van Gogh as Nordenfalk, he regrets the omission of any indication of the basis of this choice. Ueberwasser's opinion, it should be added, has been opposed by other authorities.

This book is a rich interpretation of a major and complex subject. Its masterful interweaving of biography and criticism should stand as a model for future monographs on artists. Nordenfalk's two-page summary of the many psychiatric analyses of Van Gogh contains perhaps more wisdom than all these accounts taken together. They are listed topically with the best writings about the artist's work, reminiscences of his life, standard biographies, articles, exhibition catalogues, and discussion of the problem of forgeries, in an excellent critical bibliography.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

New Books in Brief

Something for Voltaire

DEAD MAN IN THE SILVER MARKET. By Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. $3.

Half Irish, half Hindu, and educated in a good Public School, Mr. Menen is obviously the man to contemplate the English—and everybody else—with detachment, or worse. Who else would be so likely to be vividly aware that all nations and all races naturally tend—in Shaw's phrase—"to think the customs of their little island the laws of the universe"?

It is not, to be sure, a new subject, but the vivacity, the wit, and the good humor of this paragon of cosmopolitanism make it as fresh as a May morning. Whether he is describing how the Empire became, somewhat hurriedly, the Commonwealth, though not "until the English had no wealth to share"; or whether he is reporting his conversation with Fakirs in India, he is always hilarious; as when, for example, a holy man who has held his arm in the air until it withered pours scorn on the unambitious who merely sit on nails: "You cannot get salvation—because you happen to have a leathery backside. They haven't got grace, they've got callouses." Voltaire would have delighted in the style as well as the point of view, though he might have found Mr. Menen a bit deficient in genuine malice. Significantly Mr. Menen concludes, as Bertrand Russell and many others seem recently to be doing, that the one indispensable thing we lack for our own salvation is love. The argument seems to be reaching full circle. A generation ago we were all for knowledge, science, and detachment in the management of human affairs. Now we are back to charity again. In any event this is the wittiest book one reviewer has come across in a long, long time.

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Reflections of a Historian

THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT. By Marc Bloch. Knopf. $3.

This book represents the French mind at its best, and it has been superbly translated by Peter Putnam. Combining precision of thought with clarity of style, it is inspired by a warm humanity. Marc Bloch, though best known for his profound studies of feudalism, was in fact the antithesis of the dry-as-dust antiquarian. The task of the historian, he believed, was to make clear, by linking the past to the present, "the solidarity of the ages." Hence he must never lose sight of the contemporary scene and must seek to understand the living as well as the dead.

Bloch was a professor at the Sorbonne when he rejoined the army in 1939. After the débâcle of 1940 he sought refuge in the south of France and there, cut off from his library, began to set down his reflections on the nature and uses of history, on the techniques of research, on historical criticism, and on historical analysis—a chapter that includes a fascinating section on semantic problems. Despite the circumstances under which they were written, there is no hint in these pages of despair or bitterness. As Professor Joseph R. Strayer says in his introduction, "Bloch kept his serenity, his faith in France, and his belief in the value of history."

Unhappily Bloch did not live to complete his work. When southern France was overrun, he joined the Resistance and in 1944 was caught by the Nazis, tortured, and executed. This book, fragmentary as it is, a broken shaft, is his monument, and a noble one.

Correspondent's Boyhood

THIS WAS MY WORLD. By Robert St. John. Doubleday. $3.95.

Robert St. John, author, lecturer, foreign correspondent, and radio commentator, writes of the days before he was any of these in this unpretentious and good-humored account of his boyhood and early manhood. He was born in Chicago, his father a chemist who knew well enough how to mix oil and water but not, apparently, God and Mammon. So the family remained poor, and Robert began to work as soon as he went to school. His jobs were legion; at one time, he writes, he held eleven jobs simultaneously. For a while he seemed destined for the Episcopal clergy, but at some imperceptible moment his stars got crossed and he turned out to be a newspaperman. At an age when most young men are hardly beyond the cub stage in the profession St. John could boast of being an ex-publisher, having been vanquished—under dramatic circumstances—as co-owner and editor of a weekly in Cicero, Illinois, by the machinations of one Al Capone.

There followed for St. John two unlikely interludes in Vermont. During the first he was editor of the Rutland *News*, where—as he joyfully notes—one of his pleasanter tasks was to edit the copy of a rural correspondent named Rosie Bottom, and during the second a farmer. The book ends with St. John's departure from New York on the first of the many swings through Europe which eventually established his reputation as a first-rate foreign correspondent.

Lost Persons in Love

THE NARROWS. By Ann Petry. Houghton Mifflin. $3.95.

This is a long, sprawling, eclectic, and melodramatic novel primarily about a violent and passionate love affair between a young intellectual Negro, who is lost, and the white heiress of a munitions fortune, who is even more lost. The setting is in a typical Connecticut river town, with touches of New York and Harlem. Mrs. Petry adds innumerable minor stories and characters to the whole panorama of both Negro and white society. She means well; she tries hard. But one gets the impression of a hodge-podge of styles, structures, ideas. Through attempting to view her literary figures from every point of view, she never quite succeeds in seeing them at all. Her theme is bold, her purpose is serious, but her technique (horrid word) is faulty.

Upper-Class Life

THE CANDLE'S GLORY. By Sylvia Thompson. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $3.50.

A rather slight novel in the style, more or less popularized, of Virginia Woolf or Elizabeth Bowen. It is a story of English and French upper-class life, opening in the early 1900's and continuing through the Second World War. The heroine gets married and divorced, has a child, falls in love with a French count and a rather dubious English mystic. The whole is for August reading.

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Films

Manny Farber

"FROM HERE TO ETERNITY" must have seemed like a chore to its director, Fred Zinnemann. He is inspired by experimental films in which the actors are new to movies and the story has an amateurish ring, while this picture is based on a best-selling novel and carries a load of famous "name" players and a budget, $3,000,000, that has to make the final product look slick. It held my interest until the final reel, when the bombing of Pearl Harbor suddenly turned up, but I don't think its success is due either to Zinnemann, who sentimentalized a lot of James Jones's story, or to Taradash, whose adaptation moves too quickly through the various love affairs, feuds, drinking bouts.

The laurel wreaths should be handed out to an actor who isn't even in the picture, Marlon Brando, and to an unknown person who first decided to use Frank Sinatra and Donna Reed in the unsweetened roles of Maggio, a tough little Italian American soldier, and Lorene, a prostitute at the "New Congress" who dreams of returning to respectability in the states. Sinatra plays the wild drunken Maggio in the manner of an energetic vaudevillian. In certain scenes—doing duty in the mess hall, reacting to some foul piano playing—he shows a marvelous capacity for phrasing plus a calm expression that is almost unique in Hollywood films. Miss Reed may mangle some lines ("you certainly are a funny one") with her attempts at a flat Midwestern accent, but she is an interesting actress whenever Cameraman Burnett Guffey uses a hard light on her somewhat bitter features. Brando must have been the inspiration for Clift's ability to make certain key lines ("I can soldier with any man," or "No more'n ordinary right cross") stick out and seem the most authentic examples of American speech to be heard in films.

The story is supposed to give you the lowdown on the professional soldier—it is about the thirty-year men in Company G at Schofield Barracks, Honolulu. Taradash juggles a number of plot threads—a clandestine romance between a smart top sergeant and the captain's sexy wife, the brutal treatment of a new transfer who refuses to box on the company team, the feud between Maggio and a sadistic captain who operates in the "stockade"—in such a concise way that they seem to be bouncing off one another. In one crucial section a love affair on a lonely beach and another in a crowded brothel are wound together like the strands of a rope. The shift from one to the other is somewhat too abrupt, but it is a minor defect in a highly professional job of writing.

What you are supposed to get is a sour, violent, sometimes funny portrait of the character who makes soldiering his business. It was my impression that the performances were often too fancy and the camera work too arty for a convincing study of tough Americans. The "big" performance is turned in as usual by Clift, as Private Prewitt, a character who has every talent (boxing, bugling, soldiering) except an ability to conform to army pattern. He does an ingenious job of acting a plain, slow-thinking individualist, but he is often working with an actor like Lancaster who does everything with a glib, showy, Tarzanism. Then there are Deborah Kerr, a fluent actress who never lets you forget she is acting, and a number of supporting players like Ernest Borgnine, whose sadism has a Broadway glitter.

"From Here to Eternity" happens to be fourteen-carat entertaintment. The main trouble is that it is *too* entertaining for a film in which love affairs flounder, one sweet guy is beaten to death, and a man of high principles is mistaken for a saboteur and killed on a golf course. When the soldiers get drunk, the scene is treated in a funny, unbelievable way. When Clift blows his bugle, it is done with a hammy intensity that tries to mimic Louie Armstrong at his showiest. When Lancaster and Kerr are being passionate on the beach, it is done in patterned action that reeks with a phony Hollywood glamour. The result is a gripping movie that often makes you wish its director, Zinnemann, knew as much about American life as he does about the art of telling a story with a camera.

ERIC AMBLER had the almost hopeless task of adapting "The Cruel Sea," a long novel made up of clichés taken from English war movies. His solution was to drop most of the corny plots that told of various sailor lives ashore and to insert in their place a record number of camera shots of the sea and close-ups of sailors reacting to a torpedoing. The movie version of Monsarrat's 500-page book seems, curiously, hardly to move, though it is based on the history of a corvette's crew which is moving almost from the moment you see it on its first trip through U-boat-infested waters. On the other hand, neither the sea nor the turmoil of abandoning ship has ever before been rendered with such meticulous camera realism. And I doubt whether any other actor has equaled the realistic suffering, fatigue, and nervous strain of Jack Hawkins in the only role that matters to the film—a captain who molds a green crew of lawyers, reporters, bank clerks into first-class seamen.

R & H

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Music

B. H. Haggin

AT THE very least public performers have the traits of personality and character of any other human beings—traits conditioned, developed, and distorted by the ordinary experiences with family, friends, enemies, teachers, employers. There is, then, that reason for their behavior to be no better than the behavior of other people; but as it happens there are additional reasons why it is often worse. Public performers are subjected to the additional distorting strains of their intensive training and their careers; and some of them begin with the unbalance that makes possible a fanatical dedication and concentration during long years of training and then during the years of artistic achievement. The result is often irrational, unreasonable, outrageous behavior—though also the capacity to continue, day after day, to endure, cope with, and survive the circumstances of their careers that would deprive a balanced, rational person of his reason.

I speak of this because of people's attitudes toward such behavior. I have heard them condemn Toscanini vehemently for his unreasonableness, his inconsistency, and above all of course his explosions of rage at rehearsals, demanding in effect that in addition to being a great musician he should be rational, patient, just, fond of children, kind to animals, and what not—which they would not demand of a businessman or an engineer. For my part, I am content to settle for the great musician; and I know that the unreasonableness and rages are not, as these people think, mere self-indulgence by a man who could be reasonable and patient if he didn't feel privileged to be unreasonable and impatient. Toscanini is, in his relation to music, a man obsessed and possessed; and such a man is not rational and reasonable—not in music nor in anything else. Many years ago that remarkable critic, W. J. Turner, wrote that as he had sat watching Toscanini he "was suddenly reminded of Berlioz's remark, 'Do you think I make music for my pleasure?' I am certain that it is not a pleasure for Toscanini to conduct, but rather that he suffers. It is because of his extreme musical sensibility and intense concentration. Here lies the essence of his superiority." Not self-indulgence, but extreme musical sensibility, intense concentration, suffering (which Toscanini has said conducting is for him)—these are the causes of the rages; and it follows that they are reasons for forgiving him, as intelligent orchestral players do. Moreover, Turner's perceptive observation teaches us something else—not merely about Toscanini but about all great artists: that we owe them gratitude not only for the experiences they give us but for what they have endured and continue to endure to make those experiences possible, and what we are unaware of as we watch or listen to them perform.

We have to learn of it from other sources; and it is from Anton Dolin's "Alicia Markova: Her Life and Art" (Hermitage, $3.95) that we learn with horror of the childhood and the first years in the Diaghilev company (she joined it at fourteen) in which her existence resembled that of the hen that nowadays is kept in a cage and allowed to do nothing but lay eggs. The damage of such an existence to the personal life of the hen we don't know; the inevitable damage to the personal life of Markova is something we do *not* learn from Dolin's book. But it is known by those in the ballet world; and Agnes de Mille, who had numerous contacts with her, revealed a little in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* last fall in which, writing that Markova had sacrificed every interest in life to the one objective of dancing better and better and better, and citing the fact that "Alicia has never married—never, as far as I know, even been engaged," she went on to say that "outraged nature must have backed up on her from time to time and taken blackmail payments . . . Whether . . . [the sacrifice] was necessary is a question she has probably asked herself . . . at lonely moments." And again in her brilliant review of the Dolin book in *The Times,* in which she spoke of its omissions: "There is no hint of the terrible melancholies [Markova] is known to sustain." De Mille ascribed the omissions to Dolin's gallantry; but I think the major reason is the one responsible for her own such omissions even in what I have quoted—the reason being that one cannot write with complete candor about the personal lives of the living.

Nor does one find in Dolin's book anything about the lessened intensity and reduced scale that began to be evident in Markova's dancing around 1946, and the omissions and substitutions and prettified faking this had come to by last fall. For this one reason is undoubtedly Dolin's gallantry—another being the way Dolin operates as a dancer himself. But what de Mille's reason was for writing last fall that "she is dancing better than ever . . . Instead of slacking off with the years she seems to be reaching greater and greater physical and emotional strengths"—I can't imagine.

Letters

Old Reader Complains

Dear Sirs: I have been reading *The Nation* since the 1930's, and while I have differed with its position on various matters I have never before felt impelled to voice my differences in writing. However, I have just about reached the saturation point with your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, in respect to his anti-objective and anti-intellectual approach to events emanating from Russia and its stooges.

Del Vayo has studiously and intentionally avoided and evaded any mention or discussion of official Russian anti-Semitism. I have been patiently awaiting some mention by him of this vital turn in Russian policy, which shocked the entire civilized world and was condemned without equivocation in *The Nation* editorial columns. To date your foreign editor has not permitted one word about Soviet anti-Semitism to appear in his column. The explanation is simple. Del Vayo's intellect is so oriented in favor of the "ideals" of the Russian Revolution that it cannot now objectively accept and evaluate new evidence which might shatter the attainment of such "ideals." He has never honestly condemned the Russians for starting the Korean conflict, only chided

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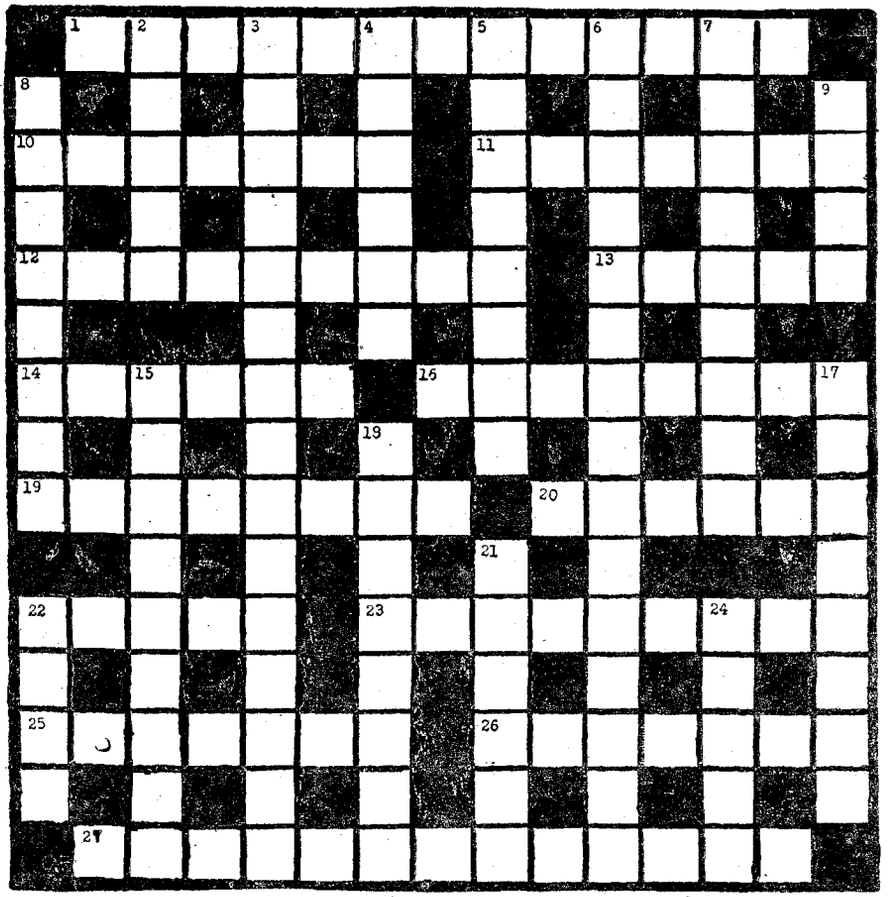
Crossword Puzzle No. 530

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What to expect if wood gets in the way of fire? (You might take notice here.) (8, 5)
10 Plant onions, and you'll see Sebastian's friend. (7)
11 A number of the blameless? (7)
12 She is surrounded by ill-gotten riches, and loves it! (9)
13 Bishop, for example, in part. (5)
14 See 9 down.
16 What to do when the light fails and disconcerts one? (8)
19 His 22 down is proverbial. (8)
20 Cheats the innocent? (6)
22 Rocks, perhaps, singularly still. (5)
23 ----the little ones---as a reversion to type? (9)
25 Exhausts, partially, the supply of paper dolls? (3–4)
26 Used for scouring, after dinner. (7)
27 Time for the ride to Dover? (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Remove all rail support? (5)
3 To a large extent is the soil healthy here? (4, 6, 5)
4 Memento of headless waste. (6)
5 No ink, so a different material is found. (8)
6 The seat of euphoria? (2, 3, 2, 3, 5)
7 Takes the direction of a 23. (9)
8 Keep your eye on the price—it doesn't include the carriage. (5, 3)
9 and 14 across. Where one fights the lack of specific charges? (4–3–5)
15 Equipment, and nothing else, rented to a musical production. (9)
17 Set parts that sound like Martin, for example? (8)
18 Cast away a kind of plane, and sit up on the rest. (8)
21 A little more than a weapon, but not much. (6)
22 This now is a city in India. (4)
24 Gas might be associated with a disturbance of this organ. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 529

ACROSS:—1 PROPELLANTS; 9 BASS TUBA; 10 TENORS; 11 TOENAIL; 12 BOBTAIL; 14 RAG-TAG; 15 MASTHEAD; 17, 4 and 20 across ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME; 22 BUFFERS; 24 ANTONYM; 26 RELISH; 27 CLERICAL; 28 CREPUSCULAR.

DOWN:—2 RESONATOR; 3 POUTING; 5 AUTHORS; 6 TENET; 7 PAGODA; 8 TROIKA; 13 AMUSE; 16 HARMONICA; 18 LAUDER; 19 AIRSHIP; 20 TONNEAU; 21 MAY DAY; 23 FLIER; 25 ACES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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them gently for being somewhat naughty, and inevitably it is the United States which has provoked the "peace-loving" but "sensitive" Russians. Actually he is one of those double-standard intellectuals who constantly, though unrealistically, complain that the United States is betraying everything it stands for while never voicing any concern for the little guy, group, or nation whose liberty—personal, civil, political, or other—is destroyed by brutal Russian methods.

The unhappy truth is that ever since the end of World War II Russia has thrown off its prior pretensions of being the champion of "peace and democracy" and has shown itself to be a "bad actor" and also a bully.

Del Vayo reflects adversely on *The Nation's* integrity as a progressive organ of public information.

New Orleans, La. IRVING NOVICK

[The editors of *The Nation* feel that Mr. del Vayo's writings for this magazine, including his current dispatches from Europe, are the best answer to Mr. Novick's charges.]

Los Angeles Has Its Troubles

Dear Sirs: It is true that the "good people" of Los Angeles have appeared powerless before the devastating attack on UNESCO made by our now "famous" crackpots. Four of our newspapers are reactionary to an unbelievable degree, and the fifth, though liberal, is busy merely staying alive.

Yet in spite of the almost solid wall of print opposing the U. N., Southern Californians must be for it. Even the state convention of the American Legion voted down a proposal that the United States quit the U. N.—and by a substantial margin for the Legion.

One of the few sources of reasoned opinion available to us is Chet Huntley, a radio commentator who nightly battles the dragons. His broadcasts are models of intelligent and scholarly rebuttal of present-day local and national reactionary attitudes. Naturally he has been a particular target of the primitives and for some weeks has been without a sponsor.

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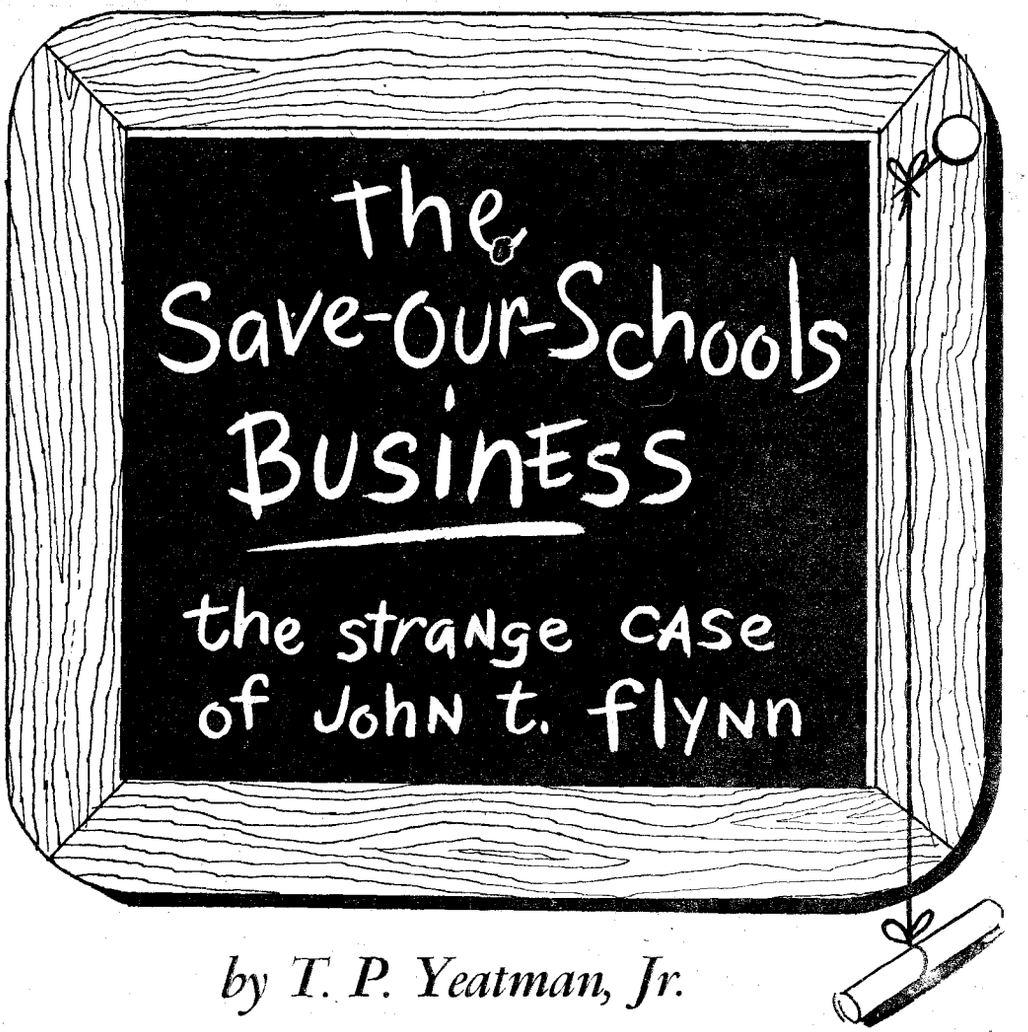

by T. P. Yeatman, Jr.

A leading educator writes us: "You are to be commended for your fine article on John T. Flynn. He is doing a lot of harm among unthinking and gullible people—many of whom should know better. This article does expose the 'save-our-schools' business and certainly everybody interested in the well-being of our schools should read it."

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